An Acceptable Science: Antwerp maiolica tiles from a Tudor manor house at Place Farm, Bletchingley, Surrey

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Summary

A group of 16th-century maiolica floor tiles excavated on the site of the Tudor manor house at Place Farm, Bletchingley, Surrey, UK, are shown by NAA/ICP to be products of Antwerp, Belgium. Most of the tiles form parts of large picture panels. Parallels from other sites in the UK and on the Continent suggest they date to the later 1530s and include products of the workshop of Guido Andries. They appear to date to a period between the production of pavements composed of individually decorated hexagonal and square tiles of the 1520s and 1530s, such as those at The Vyne (Hampshire, UK) and the Abbey of Herkenrode (Belgium), and later, more unified picture panels of the 1540s, for example, those at Firle (East Sussex UK). From 1522–39 Bletchingley was owned by Sir Nicholas Carew, wealthy courtier and diplomat to Henry VIII; the tiles were probably laid during his occupancy.

Introduction

The tiles were found at Place Farm, Bletchingley, Surrey, UK, during excavations carried out between 1985 and 2010 by the Bourne Archaeological Group, directed by Michael Russell (Historic England). They were shown to Sarah Jennings at the time, who recognised them as being of significant importance and interest. This paper is offered as a tribute to Sarah, to the memory of her infectious enthusiasm and humour, and to her many achievements in the world of medieval ceramics.

A Splendid House: Place Farm, Bletchingley, Surrey

Documentary sources indicate that by 1262 there was a manor-house or court-house with two parks on the site in the possession of the de Clare family. The estate eventually passed to the Staffords, who later became Dukes of Buckingham, and who extensively altered and enlarged the manor house. Early in the 16th century Edward Stafford, the third Duke, largely rebuilt the house as a Tudor country house, with two large deer-parks. In 1521, following the execution of Buckingham for treason, the estate passed briefly to Henry VIII. A contemporary survey described the house as 'properly and newly builded with many lodgings and offices. The hall, chapel, chambers, parlours, closets and oratories be newly ceiled with wainscot roofs, floors and walls, to the intent they may be used at pleasure without hangings' (Saaler 1998, 6-8).

In 1522 Henry granted Bletchingley to Sir Nicholas Carew and his wife Elizabeth. Sir Nicholas was a wealthy courtier and diplomat who had been brought up at court in the King's circle and was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Two years earlier in 1520, following the death of his father, Sir Nicholas had also acquired the estate of Beddington, Surrey, including Carew Manor, some four miles north-west of Bletchingley. Beddington became his principal residence: he largely rebuilt it in c.1530 and Henry stayed with him there in 1531. The king stayed there on occasions, lastly in April 1538. Later that year however Sir Nicholas' downfall occurred: he was implicated in treason against the king and arrested. He was tried on charges of treason, convicted on 14th February 1539, and beheaded on 8th March.

In 1540, after Carew's execution, Henry granted the manors of Bletchingley and Richmond, Surrey to Anne of Cleves for life, as part of their divorce settlement. At the time, both were said to have 'splendid houses', and Anne lived at Bletchingley from time to time (Saaler 1998, 7). Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels and Master of the Tents to Henry VIII, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Anne's steward at Bletchingley, was appointed keeper of the manor. In 1546, Anne leased Bletchingley to Cawarden, although she continued to reside there at times, while Cawarden probably lived nearby at Hextalls, within the North Park. When Cawarden took over the main house, he complained about the extent of ruin and decay because she had neglected to carry out repairs. On Carwarden's death in 1559, an inventory made of the house and its contents listed 63 rooms on two floors, including large private

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apartments on the first floor. These rooms were richly adorned with tapestries and with curtains and cushions of gold and silver, silk and satin in a variety of colours. A range of ground floor rooms consisted of the hall, parlours, spicery, buttery and cellar, kitchen, armoury, the new gatehouse with a tower, and agricultural buildings (Saaler 1995, 86-88; 104-106).

Most of the tiles were found immediately north-east of the principal apartments, an area of the site which appears to have been extended in the later 16th century when a large cellar and other structures were built, probably for a visit by Elizabeth I in 1578. The tiles may have been discarded at this time, having been *in situ* since the 1530s, some 40 years, which might account for their worn and fragmentary appearance. The tiles were all found in demolition contexts dating to the late 17th century, when the country house was dismantled and materials sold off during the 1670s. The gatehouse is now the only surviving building (Michael Russell, pers. comm.).

The Tiles

It is unclear whether the various different designs and border schemes on the tiles all formed part of a single design for one floor, or whether they represent several designs, and therefore more than one pavement or panel, or different areas of one large pavement. Some of the panel tiles have numbers painted on the back to aid in laying the pavements.

Picture panel tiles

1. ***Wreath (Fig. 1).*** Corner tile from a 9-tile panel. A green wreath or garland with yellow fruit on a white ground. Foliage in corner spandrel, detail against a blue ground with yellow outline. Probably originally a central roundel containing a pictorial scene. Mark on base: the number 1(?). Length: 142 mm. Thickness: 20 mm. Nail hole in corner(?). NAA sample 39Q.

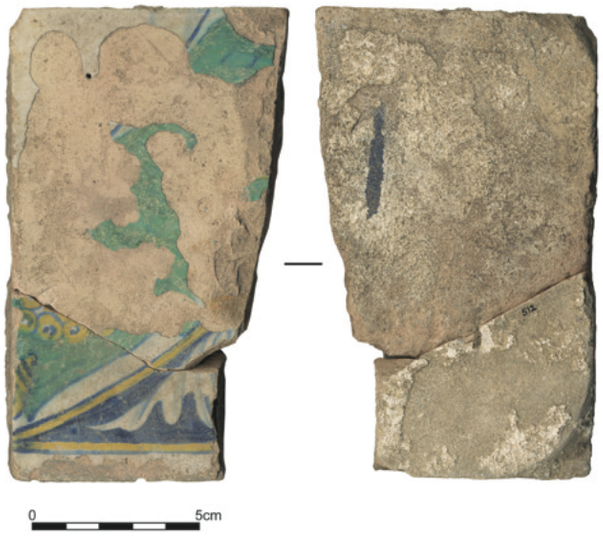

Figure 1. Maiolica picture tile from Place Farm, Bletchingley: Wreath, No. 1.

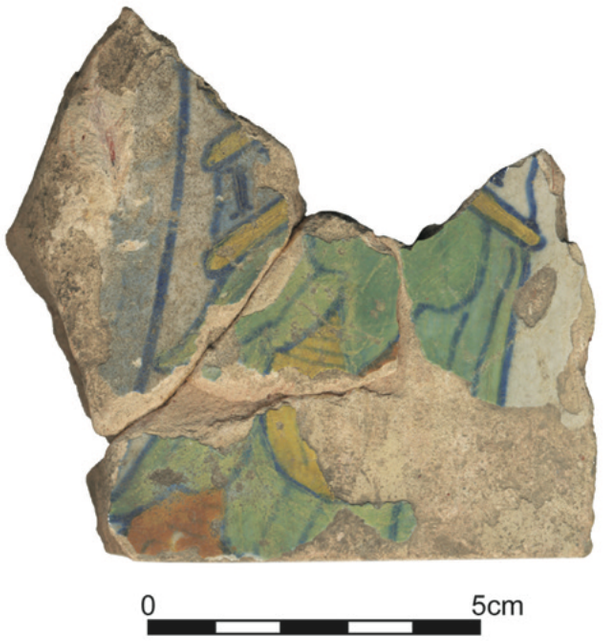

Figure 2. Maiolica picture tile from Place Farm, Bletchingley: Wreath, No. 2.

2. ***Wreath (Fig. 2).*** Tile from a 9-tile panel. Green wreath with yellow and orange fruit, tied with a white ribbon with blue detail, edged in yellow, against a white ground. Central roundel with blue outline. Thickness: 20 mm. NAA sample 42R. Faint mark on base. Possibly part of the same panel as No. 1. The dark blue detail decorating the ribbon is similar to that on the scroll in Betts & Weinstein 2010, no 37, a panel tile with the same *fleur-de-lys* corner as No. 7. Chemically very close to the *fleur-de-lys* tiles (No. 7), suggesting they share a common source.

3. ***Wreath (Fig. 3).*** Tile from a 9-tile panel. Green wreath tied with a white ribbon with blue detail, edged with yellow. Wreath painted directly onto scene

Figure 3. Maiolica picture tile from Place Farm, Bletchingley: Wreath, No. 3.

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representing sky with birds in flight. Central roundel with a scene (clouds and suns-rays?) within blue outline. Yellow scalloped border at top of tile. Probably part of a different panel to No 1 and No 2. Mark on base: the number 21(?). Length: 129 mm. Thickness: 23 mm. NAA sample 40M.

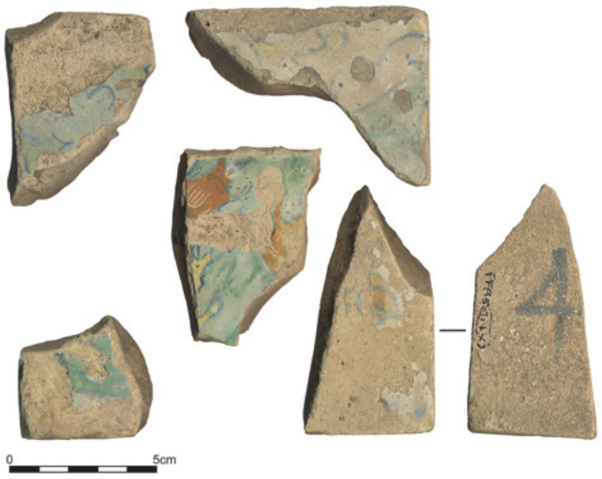

Figure 4. Maiolica picture tile from Place Farm, Bletchingley: Wreath fragments, No 4.

Figure 5. Maiolica picture panel from the Bishop's Palace, Schoenmarkt, Antwerp, Belgium. Heraldic panel with arms of Jacobus van der Meeren, Abbot of Hemiksem from 1536–1559. (Copyright: City of Antwerp Archaeology Service. Photo: Guy Vermeylen).

4. Wreaths (Fig. 4). Five worn fragments showing parts of wreaths. One also with arabesque design (cf. border tiles Nos 8 and 9). Mark on base of one fragment: the number 4. Thickness: 20-24 mm.

No. 1 is a close parallel to corner tiles from two panels, each of nine tiles, found in Antwerp during restoration of the Bishop's Palace at the Schoenmarkt (Figs 5-6). Before 1570 the site of the Bishop's Palace belonged to the Abbey of St Bernard in Hemiksem and was used as a house of refuge. One panel shows a wreath enclosing a heraldic shield depicting the arms of Jacobus van der Meeren, Abbot of Hemiksem from 1536–1559 (Fig. 5; F. Caignie, pers. comm.); the other panel has a scene depicting *Christ on the Cross* on a roundel within a wreath (Fig. 6). The fragmentary corner detail seen on the Place Farm tile is shown to be a classically-inspired urn between foliage or acanthus leaves. The Place Farm tile corner tile is almost identical to the Bishop's Palace tiles, with blue backgrounds on the Place Farm and van Meeren tiles, and yellow/orange on the Crucifixion panel. The decoration is close enough to suggest it is probably the work of the same painter and was part of a similar panel of nine tiles probably depicting a similar scene on a roundel within the wreath. The Bishop's Palace panel tiles are thought to have been wall tiles decorating the interior of the building. Their importance lies in their attribution to the workshop of Guido Andries at Den Salm, Antwerp, on the basis of their stylistic and iconographic similarity to tiles from Herkenrode and the Vyne; they have been dated to *c*.1530–35. They confirm Andries' role as supplier of maiolica to prestigious political and religious institutions (Oost and Veekmann 2002, 53-54; Dumortier et Oost 1992, 23-29; Veeckman 1999, 114, 119, fig. 6.4; Dumortier 2002, 89, fig. 28).

The designs on No. 2 and No. 3 are close parallels to a fragment of maiolica tile found at Middelburg (Netherlands), depicting part of a pictorial scene showing a landscape against a blue sky with clouds, within a blue outline, enclosed by a wreath, tied with an identical ribbon; the outlines and diameter of the Middelburg wreath have been shown to be identical to those on the Bishop's Palace tiles (Fig. 7; Caignie 2006, 11,238). The pavement in the chapel of Rameyen castle (Gestel, Belgium) also includes a large central wreath of flowers, fruit and leaves, within which is a heraldic lozenge set against a landscape with the heraldry of Jan van Immerseel and

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Figure 6. Maiolica picture panel from the Bishop's Palace, Schoenmarkt, Antwerp, Belgium. Central roundel depicting Christ on the Cross. (Copyright: City of Antwerp Archaeology Service. Photo: Guy Vermeylen).

Figure 7. Maiolica wreath tile fragment, excavated in Middelburg, Netherlands (Copyright: collection G.J.M de Ree, Amersfoort, Netherlands).

Maria de Lannoy. The Rameyen pavement is attributed to Antwerp and is thought to date to c.1527 (Caignie 2002, 441; 2009, 290, 313-314; Caignie pers. comm.; Dumortier 2002, 24). The blue outlines of the central roundels are closer to the wreaths on Nos 1 and 2; No. 3 has an additional expanse of sky with birds, similar to that behind the heraldic shield in the central wreath panel of the Rameyen floor.

The wreaths decorating the square panel tiles are comparable to those spread over several hexagonal tiles from The Vyne and from Herkenrode (Fig. 8; Blanchett 2000, 10, H3g (a-c); 21, f; Dumortier 2002, 88, 30-31, nos 23-25; Veeckman 1999, 114), but represent the progression to square tiles, and a more overall, co-ordinated decorative scheme. There appear to be no hexagonal tiles found at the Bishop's Palace: the

Figure 8. Octagonal tile arrangement decorated with wreaths from The Vyne, Hants, incorporating hexagonal and square tiles (Rackham 1927).

other floor tiles from the site are all square, and are all individually decorated tiles depicting animals, birds and roses. They appear to have been decorated by the same maiolica painter who worked on the tiles for the Abbey of Herkenrode (Dumortier 2002, 24). For further examples of wreaths on square or rectangular tiles see Caignie (2006) and Betts and Weinstein (2010), nos 21 (1520–40) and 25 (mid 16th century). Betts and Weinstein no. 21 has been shown by NAA to have a chemically similar profile to tiles from Rameyen, the *fleur-de-lys* design (*ibid*. cat. 26 and 37), and the Place Farm *fleur-de-lys* tiles (No. 7).

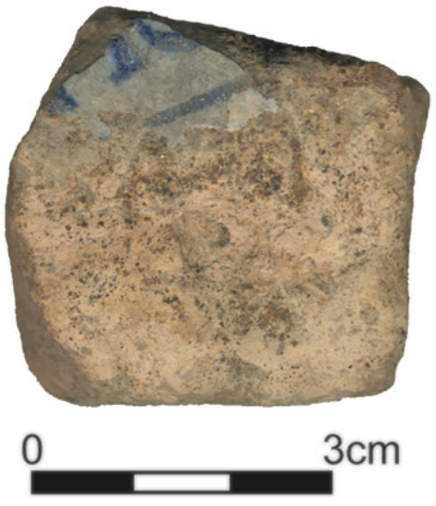

Figure 9. Maiolica tile from Place Farm, Bletchingley: inscription, No. 5.

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5. Inscription (Fig. 9). Tile from a 9(?)-tile panel. Part of an inscription in blue with blue border, perhaps part of a scroll, ribbon or banderole. The lower edge of the tile is a straight cut edge. No marks on base. Probably part of a panel. Thickness: 22 mm.

6. Portrait head (Fig. 10). Top part of a male portrait head, facing right, with yellow hair beneath an orange hat with a blue turned-up brim or lining, against a blue

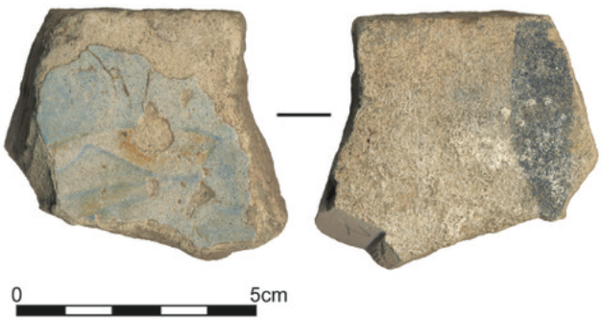

Figure 10. Square maiolica tile from Place Farm, Bletchingley: portrait head, No 6.

ground, probably sky, possibly foliage to the right of the face. The profile of the face is obscured by the worn glaze. Probably originally within a square border of blue against a landscape background, similar to many of those in the Herkenrode pavement (*e.g.* Dumortier 1999, col pl 1, upper left). No evidence of a circular outline forming a roundel around the portrait (*ibid*, col pl 1, lower left). A dark blue painted mark on the reverse of the tile may represent part of a number. The top of the tile is a straight edge. Thickness: 20 mm. The tile pavements from the Vyne and Herkenrode are both attributed to Guido Andries (Dumortier 2002, 162, col. 2). It is possibly earlier than the other tiles.

7. Fleur-de-lys (Fig. 11–12). Six fragments, representing more than one tile, the design a yellow *fleur-de-lys* with blue shading on a white ground, with green foliage along two sides, a red, yellow, blue and green quarter rose in three corners, within a blue border. *Sgraffito* in the red petals of the roses, and incised outlines to the edges of the blue borders. Thickness: 24 mm. The largest Place Farm fragment is NAA sample 38N; a nail hole is in the corner of this fragment.

Several other examples of tiles with this design are known from sites in the UK. Four examples have been found on sites in London: one from Great Queen Street (Betts and Weinstein 2010, cat. 26), two tiles, one of which, significantly, is a border tile forming part of a larger picture tile panel, from the site of the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, Warwick Square, probably from a large medieval house known as Warwick Inn (Betts and Weinstein 2010, 12-13; cat. 37; Wilson 2011, fig. 5), and one from the site of the gatehouse of the Cistercian Abbey of Stratford Langthorne in East London, either part of construction after the dissolution of the Abbey in 1538, or, equally, perhaps, pre-dissolution (Archer and Wilson 2011, 136). There are also unprovenanced examples in the British Museum (BM OA 4386: Fig. 11, largest fragment on right; also Gaimster and Nenk 1997, 185, fig. 13.12, lower left tile) and the Ashmolean Museum (WAA2009.170: Wilson 2011, fig. 3). There is some variation in the depth of colour in the glazes in this group of tiles, but this could

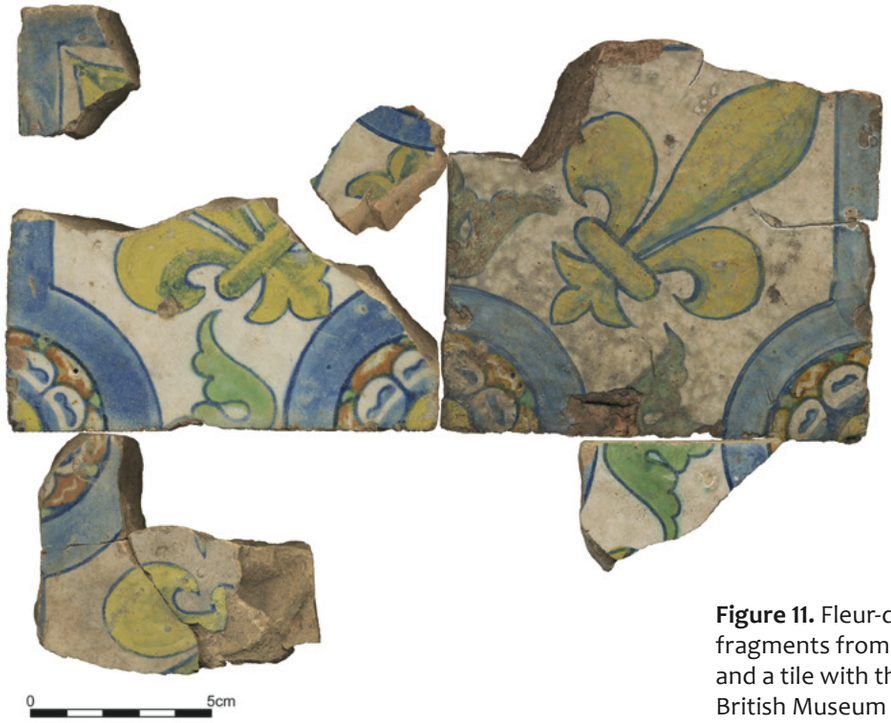

Figure 11. Fleur-de-lys maiolica tile fragments from Place Farm, Bletchingley, and a tile with the same design in the British Museum (OA 4386, on right), No. 7.

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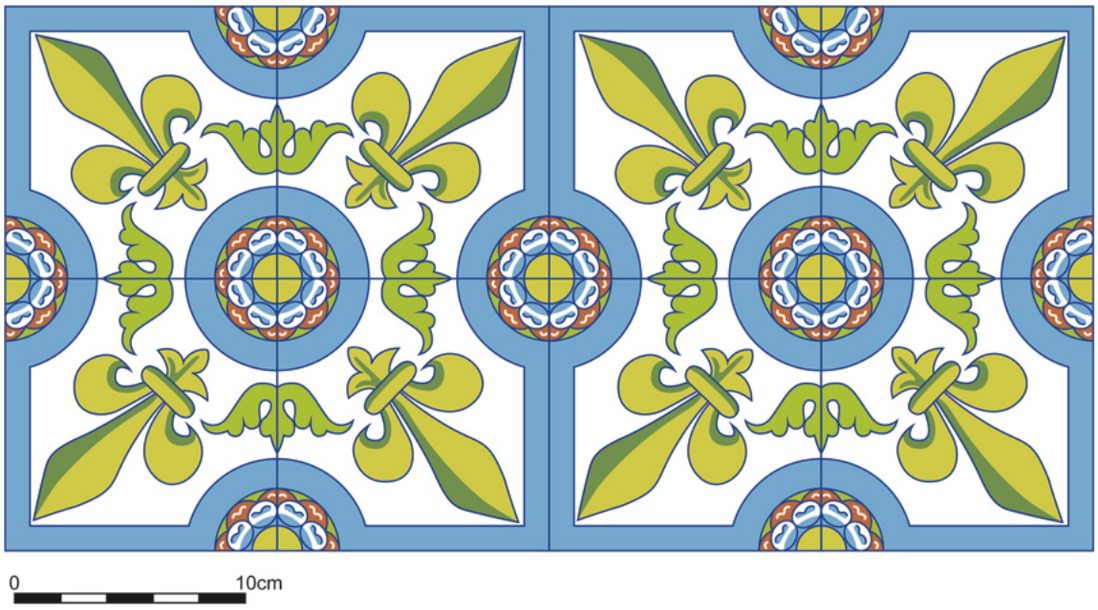

Figure 12. Reconstruction of fleur-de-lys tile design No. 7.

have been caused by differing kiln conditions in various firings at the same workshop (Wilson 2011, 131). Several also seem to have been burnt, or perhaps overfired in the kiln, suggesting they may either have once been laid in the same floor which was burnt, or came from the same kiln firing (Betts and Weinstein 2010, cat. 37; BM OA 4386).

There is a possible connection between Place Farm and Warwick Inn. The house at Warwick Inn was originally owned by the Earls of Warwick, before passing into the possession of the crown during the reign of Henry VII, until it was eventually sold, probably in 1559. Prior to this, however, it had been allowed to decline, and before 1539, had become a storehouse for the King's tents, and for the goods of the office of Revels (Wilson 2011, note 7). There is thus a potential link to Place Farm: Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels and Master of the Tents to Henry VIII, who was Anne's steward at Bletchingley, took over residence at Place Farm after Anne gave up the house in 1546. It is possible that the tiles, having been laid at either Place Farm or Warwick Inn during the 1530s, could have been taken up later for reuse at the other house by Sir Thomas. He is known to have stripped the parish church at Bletchingley of its gold and silver plate and had them transferred to his London home in Blackfriars (Saaler 1995, 106). John Hurst has drawn attention to the fact that South Netherlands maiolica floor tiles from English sites are usually single finds, suggesting the major parts of the pavements must have been lifted and removed for reuse elsewhere (Hurst 1999, 97). Perhaps this is an example of such a reuse of earlier tiles, some years later.

It is possible that the rose and *fleur-de-lys* were intended to allude to the Tudor royal arms, and the decoration was designed for the owners of high-status buildings in England, keen to show allegiance to Henry VIII in the decoration of the interior of their houses. However, Continental examples of this design exist, including fragments from excavations at the Paardenmarkt, Antwerp, and two smaller fragments dredged from the river Dijle in Mechelen, Belgium; a similar design, but with four *fleur-de-lys* on a single tile, is thought to be the product of the northern Netherlands, possibly dating to 1560–80, the design probably derived from the Antwerp tiles, made by immigrant maiolica tilers (F. Caignie, pers. comm.; Pluis 2013, 301). Moreover, similar roses are found on tiles from the Bishop's Palace. The white background to the *fleur-de-lys* also seems to lack heraldic significance (Wilson 2011, 133-134).

Analysis has shown that tiles with this design are probably all products of the same workshop. This tile is chemically identical to the tile from Great Queen Street (Betts and Weinstein 2010, cat. 26, and probably to cat. 37), and is chemically very close to wreath No. 2. These tiles also share a very similar clay chemistry to the tiles from Rameyen castle and to tiles from Hill Hall, Essex, UK (Hughes 2009, see below, p. **). The tile from the Central Criminal Court (Betts and Weinstein 2010, cat. 37) demonstrate that this design formed part of a large picture panel, suggesting it may have been made in the same workshop as wreath No. 2.

Border tiles

8. Border tiles (Fig. 13–14). Eight fragments. Yellow arabesque design with blue outline, on white ground, between border of green, pale blue and orange bands, with dark blue edges. Thickness: 17-20 mm.

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Figure 13. Maiolica border tile fragments from Place Farm, Bletchingley, No.8.

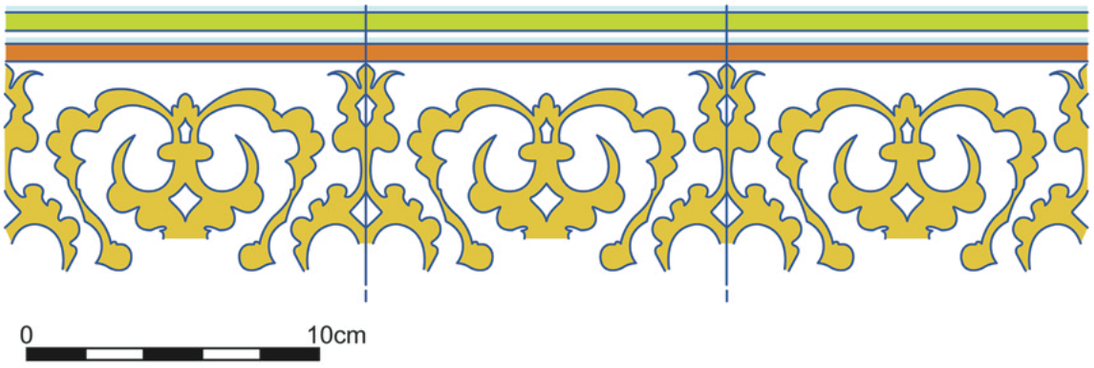

Figure 14. Reconstruction of border design No. 8.

9. Border tiles (Fig. 15–16). Five fragments. The same or similar yellow arabesque design as No. 8, with blue outline, on white ground, between borders of orange and dark blue. The wide dark blue border has circular and oval detail reserved in white ground, the ovals divided by double lines of dark blue. Thickness: 15-20 mm. The largest fragment, NAA sample 41P; this fragment has a nail-hole in the corner.

10. Border tile (Fig. 17). Fragment of tile with guilloche design in blue with yellow outline, on orange ground. Border of three yellow and white bands, each separated by blue edges. One straight cut edge across the guilloche. Thickness incomplete. A tile with a comparable guilloche design and a lion's head motif was found in Kammenstraat, near the site of Den Salm, Andries' workshop (Caignie 2009, 262). An Antwerp border tile with similar decoration and glaze colours was

Figure 15. Maiolica border tile fragments from Place Farm, Bletchingley, No. 9.

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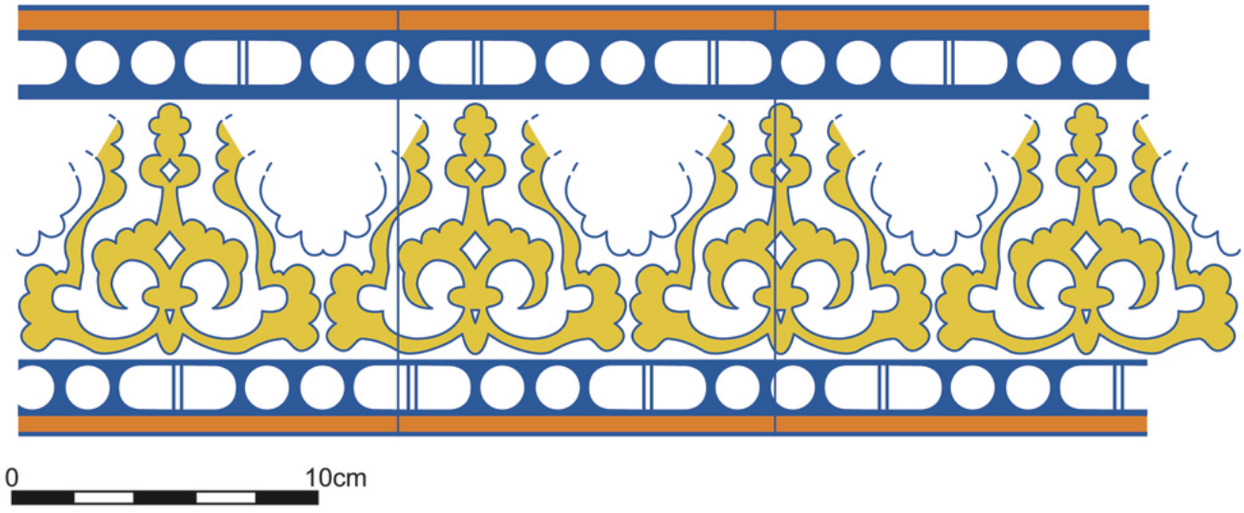

Figure 16. Reconstruction of border design No. 9.

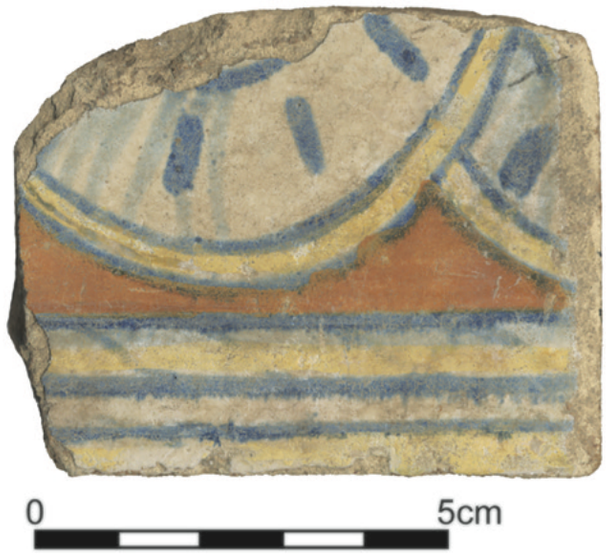

Figure 17. Maiolica border tile fragment from Place Farm, Bletchingley, No. 10.

excavated in a cesspit in the former castle of Egmont (Belgium) and dated to 1530–40 (I am grateful to Frans Caignie for this information. See also Dumortier 2002, cat. 31).

Monochrome blue versions of arabesque designs exist on hexagonal tiles at The Vyne (Blanchett 2000, 11, j-jj; 30, photograph 23), and at Herkenrode (Dumortier 2002, 20, fig. 4). Later more complex, polychrome arabesque designs, outlined in blue and decorating square tiles were made to give the impression of coloured mosaic tile shapes when laid on the floor, *e.g.* at Firle (*c.*1546, Archer and Wilson 2010, 105, no. 26), examples from London dated *c.*1550 (Betts and Weinstein 2010, cat. 27-33) and from the Low Countries dated to the 1540s and 50s (Dumortier 2002, cat. 34). The Place Farm border designs repeat the design for use in a straight border, perhaps around the edge of the floor or panel. The design is outlined in blue, but the colour of the design restricted to yellow (see also Dumortier 2002, cat. 34-38).

The painters of the Place Farm panel tiles may have used cartoons to transfer the designs onto the tiles, by pouncing onto the glaze. As Archer and Wilson discuss (2010, 100-102), the cartoons may have been based either on a drawing by an Antwerp artist, or on an engraving, as seems to have been the case with the larger tile panels of *c.*1546 at Firle. This method of decorating the tiles would explain the close similarity between the wreath panels from the Bishop's Palace and Place Farm, and the uniformity of the arabesque border designs.

Neutron activation analyses of the Bletchingley Tiles

Introduction

Tin-glazed ceramics from the Low Countries, London and Norwich were the subject of a major analytical project by the British Museum in the 1990s using neutron activation analysis (NAA); the results were published by Hughes and Gaimster (1999) and related papers in Gaimster (1999). The aim was to try to distinguish by chemical analysis between the tin-glazed products of southern England and the Low Countries, and this was achieved. An update to the first paper was published by Hughes and Gaimster (2002), including a corrected table of analyses where errors had occurred in the numbering of some ceramics, though neither the original scientific work nor conclusions were affected. The analyses of five tiles from Bletchingley given here now completes the publication of all the neutron activation analyses carried out by the British Museum for this project.

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Scientific analysis

The Bletchingley tiles were analysed by the same neutron activation analysis technique routinely used by the British Museum (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, 58; Hughes 2007; Hughes 2010, 45), and so are directly comparable to earlier analyses in the project; the results are given in Table 1. Initial inspection indicated that they appeared to have the characteristic chemical profile of Antwerp ceramics. To compare against the tiles were previous analyses of Antwerp material including biscuit-ware ceramics from the excavated sites of three kilns which showed distinct composition patterns by kiln: National Museum of Navigation (excavated 1978), five unglazed wasters of mid 16th- early 17th-century date and three fragments of 'Malling jugs'; Schoytestraat, nine biscuit wares of the late 16th to early 17th century; and Steenhouwersvest, twelve biscuit wares of the third quarter of the 16th century. Differences in clay chemistry were shown between the workshops, as found for the London tin-glazed industry (Hughes 2008). Also included for comparison were two early 16th-century pieces from the Archbishop's Palace; and one 'Malling jug' each from the Waterfront (excavated 1978) and St. Elizabeth's Hospital (excavated 1982), both mid 16th to early 17th century; a tile from Herkenrode Abbey; and four ceramics from Oude Grachte, Utrecht, Netherlands (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, 61 and 63-4). Also included were tin-glazed ceramics from London which analysis confirmed as conforming to the Antwerp chemical profiles established for the three kilns. These included eight 'Malling' jug sherds; two tin-glazed stove tiles from St Mary Graces (Gaimster and Hughes 1999a); and four tin-glazed vessels from London. In addition there were ten tiles found on various sites in London (Hughes, 2010); and five Herkenrode-type tiles from Broad Arrow Tower (Gaimster and Hughes 1999b).

Statistical study of the analyses

Statistical comparison between the analyses of the five Bletchingley tiles and this database of Antwerp ceramics was carried out using Principal Components Analysis (Baxter 2003; Shennan 1997; Orton and Hughes 2013), as in the earlier work (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, 58-9) and using the same selection of thirteen elements. The resulting principal components plot (Fig. 18) is very similar to that published in 1999 (Gaimster and Hughes 1999b, 178, fig. 16.3) for almost the same collection of ceramics except with the addition of the Bletchingley tiles, which seems to have only slightly altered the appearance of the plot. The elements which were most significant for the production of Fig. 18 were very similar to the 1999 plot, namely those with higher rare earth elements plotted to the right, but higher rubidium, caesium and sodium to the left (first principal component), with higher hafnium, thorium, and chromium to the top and higher scandium, sodium and europium to the bottom – second principal component (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, 61).

Table 1. Results of neutron activation analyses on five tiles from Bletchingley. BMRL: British Museum, Department of Department of Conservation and Scientific Research laboratory number. Element symbols: Na: sodium; K: potassium; Rb: rubidium; Cs: caesium; Sc: scandium; Fe: iron; Cr: chromium; Co: cobalt; Rare earth elements: La: lanthanum; Ce: cerium; Nd: neodymium; Eu: europium; Sm: samarium; Yb: ytterbium; and Lu: lutetium. Th: thorium; Hf: hafnium; U: uranium; Ta: tantalum; Tb: terbium; Ba: barium; As: arsenic; Sb: antimony; Zn: zinc; and Zr: zirconium;. The elements Na, K and Fe are quoted in weight percent, and the rest in parts per million. Calcium was not measured in this analysis.

BMRL	Na	K	Rb	Cs	Sc	Fe	Cr	Co	La	Ce	Nd	Eu	Sm	Yb	Lu	Th	Hf	U	Ta	Tb	Ba	As	Sb	Zn	Zr
5792-38-N	0.36	0.92	85	6.8	9.2	2.50	92	11.5	28.8	58.1	23.6	1.14	5.07	2.35	0.36	9.2	6.7	1.71	0.90	0.85		9.9	2.7	57	
5792-39-Q	0.13	1.18	72	3.8	8.5	2.25	85	9.8	25.8	50.7	20.2	0.97	4.42	2.27	0.32	8.6	6.9	1.60	0.92	0.68	197	8.2	5.2	53	181
5792-40-M	0.13	1.08	63	3.6	7.6	1.91	77	9.5	25.6	49.9	21.3	0.99	4.73	2.02	0.33	8.1	7.9	1.62	0.80	0.73	183	6.8	7.0	44	162
5792-41-P	0.12	1.30	70	4.3	7.5	1.83	76	10.7	22.1	44.6	20.1	0.91	3.95	2.02	0.33	7.5	6.9	1.57	0.80	0.61	200	9.0	4.8	63	
5792-42-R	0.13	1.28	83	5.2	8.4	2.28	77	7.9	24.0	47.6	19.8	0.92	4.16	1.85	0.30	8.5	6.1	1.87	0.83	0.61	219	9.3	6.1	44	180

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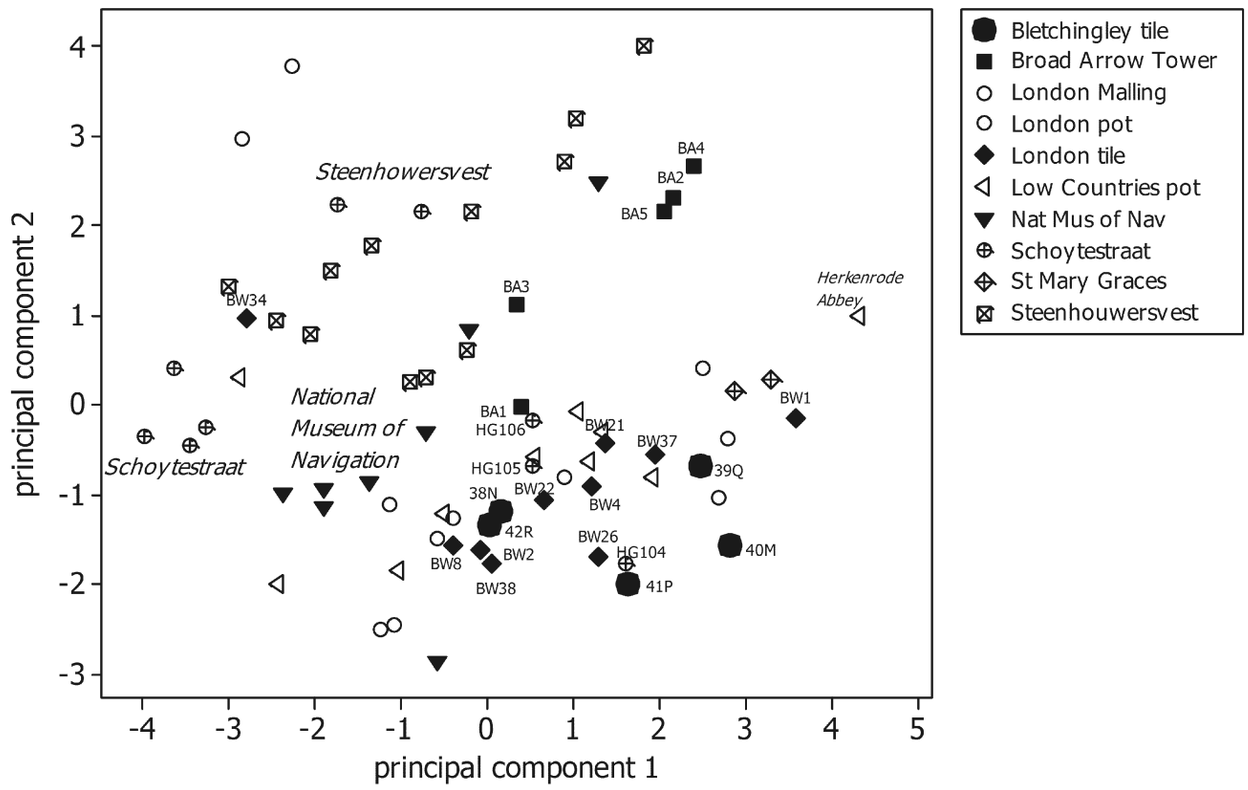

Figure 18. Plot of the first two principal components arising from comparison of the neutron activation analyses on five tiles from Bletchingley and comparative analyses of Antwerp tin-glazed tiles and pottery, including pottery from three Antwerp workshops. The Bletchingley tiles fall in the same area as nine of the tiles from various sites in London and three sherds from the Schoytestraat site.

Key to labels: Bletchingley tiles; BA1-9: Broad Arrow Tower (Gaimster and Hughes 1999b, tile no.); BW2, 4, 8, 21-2, 26, 34, 37: Betts and Weinstein, 2010, cat. no; HG104-6: Hughes and Gaimster 1999, item no.

Interpretation and discussion of the results

The products of the three Antwerp kilns had related but slightly different chemical profiles, shown by them occupying different parts of Fig. 18, which suggested consistent use of the same clay source or blends for each kiln, but different between kilns (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, 60-3). However, Schoytestraat sherds formed three chemical groups: most on the far left of Fig. 18; three fitting with the Bletchingley and London tiles; and two similar to Steenhowersvest. Very few of the London-found Antwerp ceramics fitted into the chemical profiles of any of the kilns but almost all lay within an elongated spread in the lower right of Fig.18 close to these three, indicating a common origin in Antwerp. Within this spread, no systematic chemical differences between tiles and pottery were observed. Given the distinctive composition for each kiln, and the similar size of the spread of the London finds in Fig. 18 compared to those from the kilns, it seems very probable that the majority of the London finds came from an unsampled workshop or workshops in Antwerp which used the same clay source or blend. Nine of the ten tiles from a range of sites in London shared a fairly similar chemical profile (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, fig. 16.3), and the Bletchingley tiles fit with this profile (Fig. 18). The main differences chemically between the pottery from the chemically closest workshop (National Museum of Navigation) and the London tiles and associated Antwerp-produced ceramics including the Bletchingley tiles is that the consumer site ceramics have lower concentrations of scandium, iron, sodium and rubidium and slightly higher concentrations of hafnium (Hughes 2010, 47 and see 48: fig. 11 which compares closely with Fig. 18). Scandium is chemically linked to aluminium and this implies that a lower percentage of pure clay minerals (and probably higher lime and sand) is present in the tiles and associated pottery compared to the National Museum sherds (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, 62). These London-found tiles included two which were similar to those found at The Vyne, Hampshire showing figures (Betts and Weinstein 2010, 92 nos 1 and 2). In contrast, out of the five Herkenrode-type tiles from Broad Arrow Tower, one hexagonal and two square tiles had a slightly different chemical profile, appearing in Fig. 18 and in the earlier publication nearer the ceramics from the Steenhouwersvest kiln (Gaimster and Hughes 1999b, 176, nos 2, 4 and 5 respectively).

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Of the two other hexagonal tiles from Broad Arrow no. 3 was close to the National Museum of Navigation ceramics and no. 1 was close to the nine London tiles; the Broad Arrow tiles therefore contained tiles in three chemical profiles. The single tile analysed from Herkenrode Abbey itself (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, fig. 16.3) appears on the far right of Fig. 18, separated from the group of nine London tiles (the tenth London tile – Betts and Weinstein no. 34 in blue and yellow – falls within the spread of the Schoytestraat kiln sherds). The two stove tiles from St Mary Graces fall slightly on the right hand edge of the London tin-glazed ceramics in Fig. 18 and closer to three Malling jug sherds found in London and one of the tiles similar to those from The Vyne (Betts and Weinstein 2010, no. 1). The Malling jugs however are split into two areas on Fig. 18: one is close to the stove tiles and one nearer to the National Museum of Navigation sherds.

The nine London tiles represent a range of different designs and periods within the early to late 16th century, but it is very significant that they share a very similar chemical profile (Betts and Weinstein 2010). The percentage coefficient of variation in the analyses is close to 10% for many chemical elements, a figure often regarded as typical of the output of a single kiln. This does not prove a single workshop but indicates the degree of control over the clay sources and blends used for these tiles. The Bletchingley tiles show several different chemical profiles: 38N (No. 7, *fleur-de-lys*) and 42R (No. 2, wreath) are very close chemically in fabric, falling within the group of nine. The *fleur-de-lys* tile has an identical design to one found at Great Queen St, Camden analysed as one of the ten London tiles (Betts and Weinstein, 2010, 94, no. 26 = 32.91/2 in Hughes and Gaimster 1999, fig. 16.3; Wilson 2011). Another of the London tiles from the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey has a similar corner motif to this tile and is probably from the same pothouse (Betts and Weinstein, 2010, 96, no. 37: [ER1155]; Wilson 2011, 136, fn. 7). Wilson (2011, 130-1) surveyed the known examples of this design found in southern England and suggested the possibility of production in a single kiln and their wide use in high-status buildings in and around London. On Fig. 18 these three are not particularly close to each other (so probably not of the same clay batch) but all fall within the spread of the nine London tiles and could be products of a single workshop. Of the other Bletchingley tiles, 39Q (No. 1, wreath) and 41P (No. 9, border tile) fall just to the right of the nine tiles but chemically different to each other, while 40M (No. 3, wreath) a little further away. None are close to the group of three Herkenrode-type tiles from Broad Arrow Tower. The Bletchingley tiles, like those from Broad Arrow Tower, show more than one chemical profile, suggesting several different workshops using slightly different sources or blends of clay.

Comparison with plasma spectrometry (ICP) analyses of Antwerp ceramics

Further light is shed on the Bletchingley tiles by recent analyses of groups of English finds of Antwerp products, mainly tiles, by inductively coupled plasma spectrometry analysis (ICP), including eight tiles from Hill Hall, Essex (Hughes 2009); four tiles from Godolphin House, Cornwall (Allan *et al.* 2009-10); tiles and pottery from Jeffrey St Edinburgh (Franklin 2011); six tiles from London (Hughes 2010, 49 of which four were Antwerp: nos 16, 41, 67 and 210); three 'Malling jugs' and four flower vases/jugs from Glastonbury Abbey (Allan *et al.* 2015); three tiles from Carew Manor, Surrey (Hughes 2013); and ten tiles from Surrey (Hughes 2002; Betts 2016, 14-15, 27). These ICP analyses have shown that a range of chemical compositions within certain limits characterises Antwerp ceramics. Since these were small investigations, no overall summary of them has been made although this is planned, and to integrate the results from the earlier parallel neutron activation analysis; issues surrounding the combining of analyses from two laboratories or methods have been discussed by Orton and Hughes (2013, 174-6). However an interim assessment of analyses accumulated to date was made on the Hill Hall material (Hughes 2009). This included comparison of the ICP analyses of finds of Antwerp tiles and pottery including Hill Hall and the NAA data on the Antwerp kilns and ceramics attributed to Antwerp (*op. cit*., 377-8). The resulting principal components plot (*op. cit*., 378, fig. 262) showed the group of nine London tiles (NAA) were close to the Hill Hall tiles (ICP) overlapping with nos 625 + 640, 637 and 4229, while the Guildford tiles (ICP) showed some overlapping with the Hill Hall but not London tiles. Replotting this figure to identify each sample shows that those labelled 'Antwerp pottery' were mainly from the three kilns, and did not significantly overlap with any of these three tile groups. The Bletchingley tiles (NAA) did not feature in the published figure, but since they share similar chemical profiles to the London tiles, they are also similar to the Hill Hall tiles, and slightly different chemically to the Guildford tiles. Two tiles from Rameyen castle are chemically identical (ICP) to these three Hill Hall tiles (Caignie 2009, 231: tiles L?32 and LR08 – a wreath design; Hughes 2009, 376: fig. 261). A comparison between the NAA and ICP data (Hughes 2009, fig. 262) shows two of the London tiles also close to these three Hill Hall tiles (Betts and Weinstein 2010, 48, fig. 11: A25388 and CDQ88 1015 = cat. nos 2 and 21 respectively) and to the two other London tiles 37 and 26 (*fleur-de-lys*) (Betts and Weinstein 2010). In summary, the three *fleur-de-lys* tiles, including that from Bletchingley, the three tiles from Hill Hall and the two from Rameyen castle all share a very similar clay chemistry.

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Summary, including an additional interpretation of the original 1999 project

One very significant new observation is that three of the Schoytestraat kiln sherds (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, no. 104: bowl ?biscuit: Oost 1992, 100, fig. 2 no. 10; no. 105: plate *sgraffito* biscuit: Oost 1992, 101, fig. 2, no. 2 and 102, fig. 3; and no. 106: jug biscuit: Oost 1992, 102, fig. 3) have a different chemical profile to the other seven from the site. They lie outside the ellipses for the kilns (Hughes and Gaimster 1999, figs 3.7 and 3.8; and Fig. 18), but significantly they lie within the spread of the London tiles and pottery. These three biscuit wares may have been dumped at the Schoytestraat kiln but derived from an adjacent kiln, indicating that maiolica with the chemical profile of the London finds may have been made in its vicinity. A significant amount of maiolica waste has been found in the area between the Schoytestraat and the Aalmoezeniersstraat workshops (Oost and Veeckman 2002, 61 – which includes a map of the Antwerp workshops and other excavations). *Sgraffito* was present at the Aalmoezenierstraat kiln (Veeckman 2010), close to Schoytestraat (cf. no. 105 – a *sgraffito* plate).

In summary, neutron activation analysis has confirmed the five Bletchingley tiles as Antwerp products, sharing similar chemical profiles to London finds of Antwerp tiles and pottery, especially nine tiles found at a variety of sites in London. Three related but slightly different chemical sub-profiles are present among the five; the *fleur-de-lys* shares the same profile as 42R (No. 2, wreath), suggesting the same workshop, while the other three tiles are related to the nine London tiles, with the wreath and border tile closer to each other than the 40M (No. 3, wreath). Two other *fleur-de-lys* tiles previously analysed are each slightly different chemically to the Bletchingley tiles, but they, together with tiles from Hill Hall and Rameyen castle seem to be from closely-related though as yet unidentified workshops. Analyses of examples from more recently excavated workshops or wasters could throw light on this question. The accumulating ICP data also needs integrating with the NAA data to compare the English finds against the workshop analyses, but initial results show that the pattern of ICP analyses of English finds of South Netherlands maiolica mainly follows the pattern for the London ceramics analysed by neutron activation.

Significance of the NAA results

Analysis confirms the five Place Farm tiles as Antwerp products. They share the chemical profile of other London finds of Antwerp maiolica, suggesting they too came from a workshop or workshops in Antwerp. The London finds include two tiles similar to those from The Vyne (Betts and Weinstein 2010, nos 1-2), and Herkenrode-type tiles from Broad Arrow Tower (Gaimster and Hughes 1999). The London tiles share a similar chemical profile, suggesting output of a single kiln. The Place Farm tiles, like the tiles from Broad Arrow Tower, show more than one chemical profile, suggesting several different workshops using slightly different sources or blends of clay. The *fleur-de-lys* tiles (No. 7) were produced in the same workshop as wreath tile No. 2 [42R] and are close to this London group. Two other *fleur-de-lys* tiles previously analysed (Betts and Weinstein 2010, cat. 26 and 37) are each slightly different to the Place Farm tiles, but they, and tiles from Hill Hall and Rameyen, seem to be from closely-related, though as yet unidentified workshops. The three other Place Farm tiles (Nos 1, 3 and 9) are related to the nine London tiles of Antwerp origin, with wreath tile No.1 [39Q] and border tile No. 9 [41P] closer to each other than wreath tile No. 3 [40M].

The chemical sub-profiles characterising the Antwerp products raise the possibility that some, at least, of the Place Farm tiles may be products of Guido Andries' workshop, Den Salm. They may not have all been from a single contemporary commission, and perhaps represent different batches of clay and/or different kiln firings. It is also possible that they represent a group consignment of tiles imported via a merchant, or merchants, perhaps sourced from more than one workshop in Antwerp. This raises questions about the method of ordering tiles from England (or perhaps taking the opportunity to order them while on the Continent), and how merchants acquired consignments of tiles from workshops and sent them to England. This might explain the various, perhaps random, decorative schemes at the Vyne and Bletchingley, contrasting with the overall unity of tiles and designs at continental sites such as Herkenrode, Fere-en-Tardenois and Rameyen.

Antwerp tiles in the UK

An increasing number of royal, aristocratic and high status sites in Britain have produced early 16th-century Herkenrode-type Antwerp pavement tiles dating to the 1520s and 1530s. Most are characterised by square tiles surrounded by hexagonal tiles, forming an octagonal scheme. The most well-known are the tiles in the chapel at the Vyne, Hampshire, thought to have been laid *c.*1520–22 by Sir William (later Lord) Sandys (Hurst 1999, 97; Blanchett 2000). Other sites include the Manor of the More, Hertfordshire, probably installed by Cardinal Wolsey between 1522 and 1530 (Rackham 1959, 186-8); Broad Arrow Tower, Tower of London (Gaimster and Hughes 1999); the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace, relating either to Wolsey's lodgings at York Place or Henry VIII's rebuilding of 1532 (Hurst and Le Patourel 1999). More recent finds include the first examples from Scotland, in Edinburgh, which were possibly installed by Adam Otterburn, Provost of Edinburgh, a wealthy courtier, ambassador and politician, who is known to have been at the royal court in London in 1533/4 (Franklin 2011, 32). A number of comparable tiles may have been laid in monastic buildings prior to

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the Dissolution: single Antwerp tiles have been found at various sites including Charterhouse in Smithfield, Lesnes Abbey (Kent), Titchfield Abbey (Hampshire) and Sopwell (Hertfordshire) (Rackham 1926, 75; Hurst 1999, 98; Betts and Weinstein 2010, 23).

The single hexagonal maiolica tile found at Carew Manor, Beddington, Surrey, probably formed part of a pavement laid at some date during Sir Nicholas' ownership, possibly dating to *c*.1530 when he rebuilt the property, and perhaps prior to the royal visit of February 1531. The Carew Manor tile, a blue arabesque design on white ground, is almost identical to one found in the group of tiles from Broad Arrow Tower, shown to be Antwerp products and dated to the period 1520–40 (Gaimster and Hughes 1999; Betts and Weinstein 2010,12; 23), and to several tiles in the pavement at Herkenrode (*c*.1532–33) (Dumortier 2002, fig. 26, cat. 2). This tile suggests that Sir Nicholas laid maiolica pavements at both houses, but that it perhaps belonged to an earlier pavement, predating the Place Farm tiles.

During the later 1530s square tile schemes began to replace hexagonal tile arrangements. The pavement laid in the chapel of Fere-en-Tardenois (Aisne), France, dated *c*.1538, commissioned by Anne de Montmorency, may have been one of the latest pavements to incorporate hexagonal and square Herkenrode-type tiles. Once thought to have been produced by Masseot Abaquesne at Rouen, it is now attributed to Guido Andries, due to its close similarity to the Herkenrode pavement (Dumortier 2002, 24; fig. 7).

Dumortier notes the initial preponderance of the octagonal scheme, which was gradually replaced by pavements, or wall tiles, composed of square tiles, made in Antwerp fabrics from the years 1532–35. Wreaths, similar to those depicted on hexagonal tiles at the Vyne (Fig. 7) and Herkenrode (Dumortier and Oost 1992, 24, figs 2-3) became incorporated into larger, more unified designs, such as those on Place Farm tiles. The closest parallels to the Place Farm wreath designs are the panels from the Bishop's Palace (Figs 5-6), attributed to Guido Andries at Den Salm, and the tile from Middelburg (Fig. 7). Jacobus van der Meeren was abbot of the Abbey of Hemiksem from 1536–1559; if he ordered the panels early in his abbacy, corresponding with the tenure of Nicholas Carew at Bletchingley until his execution in 1539, the years 1536–1539 may be suggested as the period of production of the Bletchingley and Bishop's Palace tiles, thus representing the transitional phase of square tile panels (F. Caignie, pers. comm., to whom I am most grateful for information regarding the dating of the van der Meeren panel and the Bishop's Palace tiles). The apparent absence of any hexagonal Herkenrode-type tiles at Place Farm may be significant. The adaptation from production of floors composed of hexagonal and square tiles (with each painted decorative element largely self-contained and confined to each individual tile), to larger square picture panels, with the design spread across the entire panel, made the overall decorative scheme more co-ordinated. The more complex narratives of the larger wall panels of the 1540s and 1550s are represented by those with Biblical scenes, notably those showing *The Drowning of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea* at Firle (c.1546), the *Conversion of Paul* panel dated 1547 (MAS collectie Vleeshuis, Antwerp), and the panels of the *History of Tobit* in the Vila Vicosa Portugal dated 1558. The Bletchingley border tiles (Figs 12-16) with arabesque and guilloche designs, appear to be earlier than the more developed Renaissance strapwork, *putti* and grotesque ornament on these later panels of the 1540s and 1550s, all set within more sophisticated architectural border designs and framed by pilasters and columns. These narrative wall panels are attributed by Dumortier to the workshop of Den Salm during the period 1541–1562/3, under the direction of Franchois Frans, who took over the workshop after Guido's death in 1541 (Dumortier 2002, cat. 32; 182-87). Perhaps the development in decorative style, and the move towards production of mural tile panels, was partly due to the change in ownership of Den Salm after 1541.

The Place Farm tiles all seem to be broadly contemporary, and to date to the period *c*.1535–40 on stylistic evidence and shape, and on the parallels at the Bishop's Palace and elsewhere. There appears to be nothing in the surviving designs which refer to the heraldry of any of the owners of the house, neither that of the Duke of Buckingham or of Nicholas Carew, and as Archer and Wilson (2010) have shown, it is difficult to link the designs of the *fleur-de-lys* tiles to the arms of Anne of Cleves. There seems little doubt that the tiles post-date the tenure of the Duke of Buckingham (d. 1521) at Bletchingley. Moreover Buckingham commissioned slip-decorated red earthenware floor tiles, with designs incorporating his arms, garter and badges, during the second decade of the 16th century for his house at Thornbury Castle (Gloucestershire), which was left unfinished after his execution (Eames 1980, vol. I, 257, vol. II, 1482-1485; 1992, 70), suggesting that maiolica tiles were not available to him at this period. The tiles appear to predate the ownership of Anne of Cleves (1540–46). Moreover, when Cawarden took over the house in 1546, he complained of the neglect and lack of repairs undertaken by Anne during her ownership, which suggests she may not have carried out renovations during her occupancy (Saaler 1995, 106). Likewise, had they been commissioned by Cawarden during his time (1546–59), they would also have been more likely to have been more typical of the tile panels of the 1540s and 1550s.

The evidence therefore suggests that the tiles are more likely to date to the years of Nicholas Carew's ownership (1522–1539), which coincided almost exactly with that of Guido Andries at Den Salm (1520–1541: Dumortier 2002, 225-227), and to date to the period *c*.1535–1539. Sir Nicholas' career and travels gave him the opportunity and means to acquire maiolica tiled floors from Antwerp for his properties. He travelled

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widely in France and Italy. In 1520 he accompanied the king to France for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, taking part in the jousting and pageantry, and later that year was sent on a diplomatic mission to François I. In 1527 he was sent to France again, one of a mission to present François I with the Order of the Garter. In 1529 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Bologna, returning in February 1530, and he again travelled to France in 1532. William Lord Sandys and Sir John Gage, builders respectively of The Vyne and Firle Place, both held office together in Calais from 1524–26, which may have led to Gage subsequently commissioning tiles from Antwerp (Archer and Wilson 2010, 100). Similar circumstances may have enabled Carew to order tiles while on his various trips to the Continent.

Maiolica tiles and pottery were among the highest status, luxury goods available to the wealthy cultured elite in the first half of the 16th century, and the various decorative schemes found on tiles at Place Farm demonstrate how the repertoire of painted, Renaissance decoration on tiles kept pace with changing fashion. The examples of maiolica tiles from UK sites reflect this high status clientele, and the Place Farm tiles accord with this pattern, probably having been acquired by Nicholas Carew, one of the wealthiest and most well-connected aristocrats in the court of Henry VIII.

The supply of Antwerp maiolica to London and southern England during the 1520s and 1530s demonstrates well-established contact between Antwerp maiolica makers and the Tudor court, and the opportunity for them to undertake many high-status commissions. This high-level contact, and apparent inability of supply to keep pace with demand, is reflected in the attempt by Henry VIII to invite Guido Andries to settle in England, set up a pottery and bring the new science of maiolica to England: in 1570, when Guido's son Jasper and his partner Jacob Jansen were attempting to set up their own maiolica industry in England, he wrote in a petition to Queen Elizabeth that they had been making 'Galley paving tiles and vessels for potycaries [apothecaries] and other very artificially… the same science was so acceptable unto King Henry the eight of moaste famous memory yor highness father that his Ma[je]stie offered to the same Jaspar's father good wages and howsrowme to exercyse the same in this Realme w[hi]che then came to none effect" (Archer and Wilson 2010, 99). Henry's unsuccessful attempt to persuade Guido to move to England implies that Guido, having an ample supply of commissions from the Low Countries and France, perhaps regarded the move to England as unnecessary.

Conclusion

The tiles probably date to the period of Sir Nicholas Carew's ownership of Bletchingley and seem to date to the years between c.1535 and his death in 1539. Analysis has shown them to be products of Antwerp, and some at least may have been made in the workshop of Guido Andries, on the basis of similarities to tiles in Europe believed to have been made by him. If so, they seem to represent a late stage in his output, before his death in 1541, and a progression from hexagonal tile schemes towards more unified picture panels, with a more developed use of Renaissance ornament and motifs than that decorating the hexagonal tile schemes. With the possible exception of the portrait tile, all the tiles appear to be from picture panels, or borders tiles from panels, and none seems designed to be used with hexagonal tiles. Hopefully further discoveries in the UK and Europe will refine the chronology and attribution to individual workshops.

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Résumé

Un groupe de carreaux de maiolica du XVIe siècle excavés du site du manoir Tudor à Place Farm, Bletchingley, Surrey, Royaume-Uni, sont exposés par NAA / ICP comme des produits d'Anvers, en Belgique. La plupart des carreaux forment des parties de grands panneaux d'image. Des parallèles avec d'autres sites au Royaume-Uni et sur le continent suggèrent qu'ils datent de la fin des années 1530 et comprennent des produits de l'atelier de Guido Andries. Ils semblent remonter à une période entre la production de pavés composés de carreaux hexagonaux et carrés décorés individuellement des années 1520 et 1530, comme ceux de The Vyne (Hampshire, Royaume-Uni) et de l'abbaye de Herkenrode (Belgique), et plus tard, des tableaux plus unifiés des années 1540, par exemple ceux de Firle (East Sussex, Royaume-Uni). De 1522 à 1939, Bletchingley appartenait à Sir Nicholas Carew, riche courtisan et diplomate de Henry VIII; les carreaux ont probablement été posés durant son occupation.

Zusammenfassung

Eine NAA/ICP-Analyse zeigt, dass eine Gruppe von Majolika-Bodenfliesen, die im Tudor-Herrenhaus von Place Farm im britischen Bletchingley in Surrey ausgegraben wurde, im belgischen Antwerpen erzeugt worden ist. Die meisten der Fliesen sind Teil großer Bildtafeln. Parallelen aus anderen Stätten in Großbritannien und auf dem europäischen Kontinent deuten auf die späten 1530er Jahre hin und beinhalten Erzeugnisse aus der Werkstatt von Guido Andries. Sie scheinen auf eine Periode hinzuweisen, die zwischen der Erzeugung von Pflasterungen aus individuell dekorierten sechskantigen und quadratischen Fliesen der 1520er und 1530er Jahre, wie zum Beispiel im Fall von The Vyne (Hampshire) und der Abtei Herkenrode (Belgien), und den späteren, einheitlicheren Bildtafeln der 1540er Jahre, wie beispielsweise in Firle (East Sussex, Großbritannien), liegt. Zwischen 1522 und 1539 befand sich Bletchlingley im Besitz von Sir Nicholas Carew, einem wohlhabenden Höfling und Diplomaten König Heinrichs des Achten; die Fliesen wurden wahrscheinlich in der Zeit seiner Inhaberschaft gelegt.

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